DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 340 552 RC 018 463

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TITLE	The American Farmworker Community. Prepared for the Migrant Head Start Resource Center's Health/Disability/Social Service/Parent Involvement Institute (San Antonio, Texas, January 5-10, 1992).
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Jan 92
NOTE	10p.; Elements of the paper presented at the National Conference on Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers (Buffalo, NY, April 29-May 2, 1991).
PUB TYPE	Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Employer Employee Relationship; *Farm Labor; Federal Aid; *Federal Legislation; Financial Support; Job Training; Lobbying; *Migrant Adult Education; Migrant Education; *Migrant Programs; *Migrant Workers; Occupational Safety and Health; *Socioeconomic Influences; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS	California

ABSTRACT

The social, cultural and economic issues of America's migrant farmworkers are producing an ever widening gap between the farmworker community and mainstream society. Comprehensive and coordinated efforts by public and private sectors are needed to stabilize the farm labor force and to permanently resolve the migrant farmworkers problems. The efforts should include housing projects, health services, and education programs. Compliance and strict enforcement of existing laws, rather than creating new laws, is needed for the protection of worker health and safety. Educational efforts need to focus on providing migrant farmworkers and their families with academic and vocational instruction that will enable them to choose among alternative ways of living. Migrant education programs, as promulgated in the Adult Education Act, should be funded by Congress. Data are unavailable regarding size, characteristics, or distribution of the population. A centralized information collection agency on migrant workers should be established. Social isolation, the lack of decent and affordable housing, and inaccurate perceptions of the migrant farmworker also contribute to the plight of this population. Federal funds for employment and training programs to place farmworkers into stable, well paying jobs in the private sector accommodate no more than 5 percent of the need. Efforts to provide skills training upgrades and higher job placement within the agriculture industry have not progressed for lack of commitments by both government and the agriculture industry. The farmworker community should be empowered politically and economically in order to obtain an equal share of federal and state resources and services for its unique needs. (LP)

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THE AMERICAN FARMWORKER COMMUNITY*

Prepared for the

Migrant Head Start Resource Center's
Health/Disability/Social Service/Parent Involvement Institute
San Antonio, Texas • January 5-10, 1992

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FOCUS

As an orientation for this paper, I have borrowed a passage from a public statement of the late Congressman Mickey Leland (D-Texas). On July 16, 1986, as the Chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, he described the nation's farmworkers as follows:

> [America's farmworkers are] *ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed, undernourished, underemployed, under-educated, underpaid, and facing enormous health hazards* [They are also] *politically powerless, socially isolated, excluded from much of the work-protective legislation other American workers take for granted, and unable to compete in the labor market for the higher wages that would permit them to resolve their own problems or ameliorate the bleak reality of their existence."*

To date, no one has described the conditions that are symptomatic of basic farmworker issues with greater clarity and precision. Some destructive combination of all these inhumane conditions prevails today throughout the country. These pernicious conditions continue to exist in varying degrees in California, a home and workplace I share with more than half of all the nation's farmworkers, who spend their impoverished lives dutifully working in the State's bountiful $18 billion a year agricultural industry.

A THIRD WORLD COMMUNITY

America's migrant farmworkers comprise a most unique community. They represent the equivalent of a *Third World* community in the midst of the most affluent and technologically developed post-industrial nation in the world. The social, cultural and economic gaps between the farmworker and the mainstream society are ever widening. Providing educational, health and social services to help empower migrant farmworkers and their families, and thereby change the quality of their lives is one of the truly important challenges of the 1990's.

EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES OF MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

An extraordinary set of circumstances affects the lives of migrant farmworkers so consumedly that it becomes imperative that these conditions be considered carefully before attempting to focus on any singular solution to what is a whole constellation of longstanding grievous problems.

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* By Servando José Velarde, director of the Adult Migrant Farmworker Education Project, a 1990-91 national research and development study funded by the U. S. Department of Education. He is editor of the project's two-volume publication, *The Education of Adult Migrant Farmworkers*, and also serves as a consultant in human and organization development to *La Cooperativa Campesina de California* and the Western Alliance of Farmworker Advocates. Elements of this paper were presented as testimony in April, 1991 at the invitation of the National Commission on Migrant Education.

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Consequently, it behooves us to present a capsule version of the more distressing problems faced by the migrant farmworker community. Our expectation, in preparing this primer, is that readers shall share a realistic context in which to examine this community's plight and with which to consider appropriate and holistic remedies and solutions.

Foremost among the many problems that plague the lives of migrant farmworkers are:

- the instability of their employment;
- the attendant factors and forces that sustain that instability;
- the incapacity of the American social justice system to afford them any permanent relief.

Stabilization of the Farm Labor Force

Stabilizing the farm labor force is a critical issue that severely impacts the agricultural industry, the economies of dependent local communities, and the farmworkers. The multi-billion dollar annual agricultural production of the U.S. contains a high level of labor-intensive crops, which generally include vegetables, fruits, nuts and nursery products. These are the crops that provide work for migrant farm labor.

The stabilization of the U.S. farm labor force, comprised almost entirely of migrant and seasonal farmworkers (MSFWs), requires a comprehensive, coordinated and multi-dimensional effort by public and private sectors at national and state levels. This effort must include the integration of the following interdependent elements:

- Available and affordable housing;
- Comprehensive health benefits and services;
- Adult basic education, vocational education and literacy programs;
- Enhanced early childhood, elementary and secondary school programs;
- Enforced protection from work related illness and injuries;
- Improved matching of labor supply and demand;
- Technical training to upgrade employment in agriculture;
- Compliance with legally established fair employment practices;
- Modification of child labor laws, and other worker-protective laws;
- Strong enforcement of existing laws and regulations.

Without a holistic treatment of the major problem of instability, permanent solutions to migrant farmworker problems are not to be found in the foreseeable future.

Agriculture, Farmworkers and the Law

American agriculture is an industrial phenomenon on the national and international landscapes. It leads the world with its technology, its massive production capacity, and the unmatched quality of its harvests. In concert with the nation's great universities, it has no peer in agricultural research and development nor in the management, economics and politics of agricultural affairs. Scientists and serious students from all over the world of agriculture flock to the United States to observe, learn and marvel.

There is one glaring exception. America's agriculture suffers an aberration that mars the quality of this large and powerful industry and its otherwise remarkable achievements: *its ambivalent relationship to its work force*. That relationship has classical symptoms that are colloquially described as "Can't live with them and can't live without them."

Growers and producers of labor-intensive crops throughout the country's fertile and abundant land are totally dependent on the availability of a specified number and kind of farmworker at the right time and place. Year in and year out, this dependence spells the difference between profit or loss.

On the other hand, the industry's public behavior toward its labor force is often marked by a callous indifference to basic human needs. At times, it demonstrates a flagrant disregard of its employees' legal and civil rights. Moreover, it is public knowledge that the industry violates federal and state laws and regulations intended for the protection of worker health and safety with almost total impunity.

Ambivalent conduct of this nature is characteristic of the anti-social behavior of *abusers*, whether of harmful substances, of the law, or of human beings. When it becomes systemic in human groups, social psychologists call it *institutional violence*, and a healthy society acts to heal itself of these aberrant and destructive behaviors.

Agriculture is the last American industry where such a strong disjunction exists between employers and employees. Owners and workers continue to maintain unyielding, adversary relations with each other. This obstinacy is much more reminiscent of American labor-management conflicts of a century ago, than of a modern-day industry approaching the 21st century. The costly intransigence is even more baffling since it emanates from an industry that is painfully aware of the threatening economic changes occurring in today's domestic and international marketplaces.

The vast American agricultural industry, and the thousands of local communities whose socioeconomic circumstances depend on this industry, must begin to assume some degree of responsibility for the well-being of its migrant labor force, upon whom they all depend.

Migrant farmworkers throughout the U.S. do not need new laws, statutes, ordinances, and regulations to add to existing legal rights and protections. They need compliance with the law, and strict enforcement of the law in the absence of compliance.

EDUCATION

The priority given to the education of adult migrant farmworkers by governmental and educational institutions, when it has received any attention at all, has been of a very low order.

The best estimate of the educational competencies of the adult migrant farmworker population is that about 80 percent are "educationally disadvantaged" in the context of the Adult Education Act's definition; that is, having a fifth grade literacy level or less. A relatively small sub-group of U.S.-born farmworkers, who are school dropouts, are more likely to be at the higher end of the literacy scale; that is, functioning above fifth grade level but below ninth grade level.

Adult Education, Vocational Education, and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs serve less than 10 percent of the nation's predominantly Spanish-speaking adult farmworker community. Seventy percent are 25 to 44 years old and average 5.5 years of prior schooling, very little of it in American schools.

The education of adult migrant farmworkers has been generally overlooked, especially by the states' adult education services. What emphasis there is has been placed on children's programs: Migrant Head Start for preschoolers and Migrant Education for K-12 programs. *The education of the adult members of the migrant family must be at least on a par with that of their children.* Richard Rodriguez (*Hunger of Memory*) reminds us vividly that his autobiography contains "the story of the scholarship boy who returns home one summer from college to discover bewildering silence, facing his parents," and describes himself later on as "a comic victim of two cultures."

The national education program intended to serve adult migrant farmworkers and immigrants, as promulgated in the Adult Education Act, has yet to be funded by Congress.

Migrant Education programs (K-12) lose approximately half their initial enrollments by the 9th grade. One in 10 completes the 12th grade. The rate for the rest of American students is less than 30 percent dropout.

Few migrant farmworker families with pre-school age children can avail themselves of early childhood education programs. Migrant Head Start programs receive less funding per capita than other Head Start programs.

Most farmworker children enter the first grade with disadvantages that later manifest themselves as severe learning problems. In the early grades, a pattern of academic failure develops that precedes early drop out a few years later. Pre-school academic deficits in migrant children are a result of:

- poor prenatal care and nutrition;
- sporadic family health care;
- an absence of intellectually stimulating materials;
- a lack of positive experiences in their constraining social environments to help ease the process of acculturation.

Migrant farmworkers cannot work their way out of poverty. Their only way out is through education and training, followed by decently paid, stable employment. The men, women and children of the migrant farmworker community need help in getting the academic and vocational instruction that will empower them to help themselves. *This will also enable them to recognize and choose among alternative ways of being and living.*

Current research suggests that, in many respects, the educational needs of farmworkers may be similar to those of the overall population of unschooled and under-schooled adult learners. Similarities between these groups include limited English literacy; work in marginal, low paying and unstable jobs; and high levels of social and economic stress. It is necessary to examine the question of "transferability" to determine how well existing teaching methodologies, program design features and materials relate to the provision of educational services that are "fine-tuned" to the needs of the adult migrant farmworker community.

The advent of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) brought about federal allocations of State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants (SLIAG) to help offset costs to states of providing educational, health and social services to previously illegal residents, among whom are almost 1.5 million farmworkers (called "Special Agricultural Workers" or "SAWs" in IRCA's terms). Educational services, in particular English literacy and civics instruction, are important to farmworkers and they have enrolled in numbers much greater than expected. *Midway through the 5-year period covered by IRCA (1987-1992), the $4 billion SLIAG funding that Congress allocated has been plundered by the Administration and its friends in Congress.* States have been left on their own to cope with the costs, and little evidence exists of any transitional planning for continuation of educational, health and social services after 1991 for this population of new Americans.

The men, women, and children of the nation's farmworker community need help in getting the academic and vocational instruction that will enable them to help themselves. Continuing to operate state and local school systems in a "business as usual" manner is proving to be a disservice to the members of the mainstream society. *For farmworkers it is fatal.*

MYRIAD DEFINITIONS

Major definitional variations regarding farmworkers include: a) the scope of farmwork, b) the recency of farmwork, c) the amount of farmwork performed, d) inclusion of dependents, and e) definition of migrant, as opposed to seasonal, farmworkers. *Variations in definitions stem from different legislation and departmental regulations interpreting that legislation.* The most troublesome differences stem from the variances among the Department of Education, Department of Labor, and the Justice Department's IRCA-based definitions that have become the prescriptive definitions for all federal agencies' research and policy development regarding the farm labor force. Due, in large part, to a lack of definitional standardization from different sources, definitive data are not available regarding the exact size, characteristics, or distribution of program-eligible migrants.

LIMITATIONS OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Precise demographic data about this mobile, silent and often invisible community are difficult to gather and analyze. Relatively accurate and fairly current information, although fragmented and narrowly defined, is available in some federal departments such as Agriculture, Education, Health and Human Services, and Labor. Counterpart state-level departments and some specialized academic communities also collect, analyze and publish information about the migrant farmworker population. *What is lacking for federal and state planners, public policy makers, administrators and providers of educational, health and social services is a centralized and coordinated collection, analysis and application of the data.*

As noted above, definitional differences lead to greatly varying estimates of the total population of migrant farmworkers. A conservative estimate of the migrant farm labor force, as defined in the Adult Education Act, *which excludes farmworker dependents who do not themselves work in farmwork*, is approximately 3.5 million persons.

The size and distribution of this unique population is difficult to calculate with precision. What is known is that the national population of farmworkers is concentrated in a "first tier" of three "homebase" states: California, Florida, and Texas, where somewhere around 65-70 percent of the U.S. migrant farmworker population live, and a "second tier" of states where another 20-25 percent of the population reside. These latter states include: Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Finally, there is a "third tier," consisting of the balance of rural states where the remaining 5-10 percent of the population is based. Current field reports from program providers, and Richard Mines' analysis of the NAWS data, suggest that the post-IRCA trend among recently-immigrated migrants is to settle out in some "upstream" states, as well as in traditional, homebase states.

FARMWORKER COMMUNITY STRENGTHS

Migrant farmworkers should be perceived as members of whole, viable communities, comprised of men, women and children, who live in both nuclear and extended families, and who demonstrate the best of human group behavior. They are cooperative and collaborative, and demonstrate supportive behavior towards each other and to those who befriend them. They enjoy and maintain a high level of group integrity, loyalty and pride. Migrant farmworkers have a work ethic unmatched by any other occupational group. They have a deep love for their children, are committed to strong family ties, and exhibit genuine affection for others in their communities.

One perception of this unique community is that the national farmworker population actually represents a viable *Third World* community growing in the midst of the most highly developed, technological country in the world. When viewed in this light, many of the problems of accessibility, communication and acculturation become clearer, and a better understanding is possible of the conflicting values between U.S. sociocultural institutions, such as schools and other service-providing agencies, and the farmworker community. This view may be useful to providers of educational, health and social services in framing plans and strategies for serving the migrant farmworker community.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIETY

Farmworkers contribute much of themselves to our society with their intensive hard labor and intelligence, their undaunted spirit, modest pride and optimism, their rich language, music and dance, their love of family, children and community. They possess a high degree of group cooperation and a very low order of competitive greed. Their introduction as students or parents to the American educational system, with its competitive gamesmanship and meritocratic values, is often a harsh, confusing, and traumatic social experience.

With patience and sensitive perceptiveness, teachers and administrators can learn much from adult migrant farmworker students. Many of the healthy values of our mainstream culture, which we lament losing in

recent years, are present in abundance in migrant farmworker families and communities. Despite their social isolation, grinding poverty, and other conditions destructive to human development, they manage to maintain very high levels of *personal integrity, family unity, and community loyalty.* In this respect, the farmworker community has something meaningful to teach us as we try to recapture and reinstitute many of these higher-order values in the American mainstream society.

Farmworkers take very little from society and cost less than any other sector of the American population, while contributing an equitable share of employment and consumer taxes. Their communities enjoy statistically insignificant crime rates, they have high employment levels when work is available, seldom utilize publicly subsidized social services, and, unfortunately, fail to take maximum advantage of educational and health services. Since they have no representative voice of their own and few, if any, are eligible to vote, *their capacity for impacting the political system is virtually nonexistent.* What occasional representation they do get is reactive and largely limited to help from advocates.

THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Perhaps the most grievous aspect of the migrant farmworker community's circumstances is its *social isolation* from the mainstream society and its everyday activities. In this separateness are found manifestations of several anti-democratic elements that are destructive to the human condition:

- the erosion of individual and community esteem by the constant necessity to be represented by, interpreted for, and explained to, by some third party, well-meaning or not;
- an absence of economic and political empowerment, and very limited means of redress;
- the psychologically disabling recognition that their occupational identity—migrant farmwork—is negatively perceived by the rest of society. They perform work that no "normal" person would want to do, and are reminded of that every day. *In a recent national survey, farm work was ranked as the most undesirable occupation on a list of 250.*

Perhaps most damaging of all is the migrant farmworkers' self-image. Many see their state as their natural lot in life. Their often-expressed rationale for this low self-image is that their life must be deserved as is, given the apparent disregard of others for them, their deplorable conditions and the injustices they suffer.

Oftentimes, even the best of well-disposed helping professionals (such as school, health, and social service personnel) reinforce the farmworkers' sense of being perceived as persons of low value. This happens, unfortunately, when they are publicly identified as persons (or as a group) requiring *inordinate* efforts to accommodate their basic deficiency needs. *Our helping programs and services are not philosophically oriented nor operationally disposed to function satisfactorily with anonymity.*

HOUSING

The nation has an extreme shortage of habitable and affordable shelter for its farmworkers and their families. Available public and private housing meets little more than 10 percent of the need. The housing that the farmworker community occupies is invariably old and decaying, in serious disrepair, and lacking the usual amenities that make it fit for human habitation. Substandard, unsanitary housing for farmworker families, whether at their home bases or on the road, compounds problems of personal and public health, safety and security. *It contributes to the destabilization of the family and seriously disrupts the development and education of the children.*

Farmworker families of 4 spend one-third of an average annual income of approximately $12,000 on housing. The agricultural industry's interest in developing and maintaining housing for its labor force continues to decline, especially during periods of economic downturns, or when public efforts to enforce standards become nuisances. *Local communities that are dependent on agriculture for their economic well-being generally reject any role or responsibility.* The politics of NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) quickly prevail when advocates attempt housing developments. State and federal government programs are

underfunded and understaffed. Housing's lack of priority is evident in their diffident and ineffective performances.

Single or unaccompanied farmworkers, mostly young males who comprise about 25 percent of the workforce, are, in effect, homeless. They take temporary shelter wherever they can find or make it. To compete for rental units, groups of 10-12 or more must share costs and, of course, space. *Landlords with decent housing to rent, do not perceive farmworkers, whether in single groups or families, as desirable tenants.*

HEALTH AND SAFETY

According to the National Safety Council, agriculture is the most dangerous of all occupations. Farm laborers experience the highest rate of workplace deaths and injuries in the nation. Occupational hazards include the toxic effects of pesticides and the chronic long-term, degenerative effects of sustained hard physical labor. Farmworkers suffer 49 deaths per 100,000 compared to 11 deaths per 100,000 in six other major occupational categories including mining. One out of every two farmworker households has at least one disabled member, and 17.5 percent of all farmworker women have experienced the death of a child. Farmworkers are old at 40 and decrepit at 50. *Less than 5 percent of all farmworkers live long enough to collect social security benefits.*

Children, working during early formative years, are especially damaged by agricultural labor. Significant hazards to their health and human development fall into 2 distinct categories: 1) risks of injury, illness, and toxic exposure; and 2) threats to educational attainment. In violation of existing Child Labor laws, farmworker elementary school-age children have recently been documented working 60 hours per week, some as high as 80, during an intense harvest period. This constitutes an abuse of the exemptions, already lax and questionable, that the agricultural industry is granted under federal and state labor laws. Five special exemptions to child labor laws allow children under 12 to work in the fields. Sixteen states have no labor provisions protecting farmworker children.

A screening of 1,717 farmworker children, conducted in the lower Central Valley of California by the State's Department of Health Services in 1989, identified 71 percent (1,238) in need of follow-up care, and revealed 24 percent with anemia, 40 percent with vision problems, and 36 percent needing dental care.

Regular health services for laborers in the agricultural industry, which has the highest incidence of occupational injury and work-related illness, are beyond the economic reach of the farmworker community. Approximately 30 percent receive no fringe benefits; about 40 percent have limited health insurance; one-quarter have family health insurance coverage. Even when covered, high deductibles and exclusions increase costs. Only 14 states provide full workers' compensation coverage. Other barriers that exacerbate their difficulties in obtaining health and medical care are transportation costs, loss of wages, lack of bilingual service staffs, underservicing of primary health care in rural areas, and an absence of preventive health education and safety training.

A July, 1989 report of the National Coalition for Agricultural Safety and Health, succinctly framed the health and safety issues:

> *"America's most productive workforce is being systematically liquidated by an epidemic of occupational disease and traumatic death and injury in the face of diminishing local and federal resources."*

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

The national farmworker force turns over completely about every 15 years. Farm work is not a productive, lifetime occupation for the vast majority of farmworkers. For reasons of disability, chronic illness, diminished capacity or physical exhaustion, their productivity wanes sharply after a dozen years or so of continuous hard labor in the fields and orchards.

Migrant farmworkers throughout the United States are recognized as the "poorest of the working poor." On average, they are employed in agriculture only half the year and seldom earn more than $6,500 annually, no matter how hard or long they work. Over half of the states' minimum wage laws do not apply to agricultural employment. Until California passed a new law on January 1, 1992, requiring agricultural employers to ascertain the licensing status of ALC's (Agricultural Labor Contractors), an absence of oversight of sharp practices by many labor contractors has also helped reduce farmworkers' take-home pay. Farmworkers qualify permanently for "below poverty level" status, regardless of the rise and fall of economic indices. *Migrant farmworkers are the prime example of that growing* ***underclass of Americans*** *who cannot escape poverty by means of hard work.*

Federally-sponsored employment and training programs have been a partial answer to the farmworker's truncated working life since the inception of the national Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in the 1970's. The contemporary extension of CETA's training programs is the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), administered by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Beginning in 1974, several private, nonprofit, community-based agencies throughout the country, recipients of competitive grants and contracts each year from the U.S. Department of Labor, have successfully trained and placed tens of thousands of farmworkers into stable, well paying, unsubsidized jobs in private industry. *Job-training programs that integrate the learning of technical skills concurrent with adult basic education and literacy programs continue to be the most successful.* When these lead to stable employment in demand occupations at fair wages, they have proven to be the most effective means of directing the pre-employed and unemployed into productive jobs.

In the case of farmworkers, these programs serve primarily to reorient them toward work *outside* agriculture, an industry in which they have no future while current policies and practices continue to exist. Federal funds allocated each year under the JTPA for such employment and training programs to serve migrant and seasonal farmworkers accommodate *no more than 5 percent of the need.* There are no known state funds allocated for this purpose.

Career Development in Farm Work?

Several field demonstration projects in recent years have shown that programs designed to provide farmworkers with upgrade skills training and higher job placement *within* the agricultural industry are viable, economical, and of genuine value to the farmworker, the states' economies, and agribusiness. *These programs represent an option for farmworkers who wish to remain working in agriculture.* They also benefit selected agricultural employers, who receive on-the-job training subsidies to help upgrade and retain employees of their choice. Initial efforts, however, have not progressed beyond successful pilot projects for lack of commitments by both government and the agricultural industry.

The major causes of the failure to develop a systemic and effective agricultural skills upgrade training program are two linked actions that are essential in stabilizing the labor force:

• Modernization of the *agricultural industry's* antiquated 19th century labor policies and practices to conform to current principles of human resources management. The industry is unreceptive.

• Reordering and updating *government* policies and practices to support the requirements of stabilization. Government is generally ignorant of, or oblivious to, agricultural workforce needs, except to react to demands by the industry to ensure the numbers required.

Major deterrents to reaching agreements among the key players involved, appear to be:

• a deeply ingrained mistrust of each others' motives and intentions;

• an unwillingness to risk the consequences of social and economic change;

• in the short term, both government and industry risk nothing by leaving things just as they are.

The demise of the very promising agricultural skills upgrade project is typical of the continuing failure to support activities that meet the needs of the farmworker community and the industry it enriches with its labor.

EMPOWERMENT

Farmworkers have no process for interacting with THE SYSTEM; their cultural values militate against public confrontation with recognized authority figures or institutions, and the word "demand" is alien to their nature. Hence, they are seldom listened to and almost never heard. They have neither voice nor vote in matters that affect the quality of their lives.

Political empowerment of the American Farmworker Community is essential if fair and equitable shares of federal and state resources and services are to be allocated for its special and unique needs. Empowerment becomes imperative if the American farmworker is to benefit from the full protection of the Law.

To date, very few elected officials, at any level of government, have dared risk their public service careers by espousing farmworker causes. *Farmworkers have neither the money nor the votes with which to barter for a share of political influence.*

Those of us in the helping professions must rethink our purposes and redirect our energies toward helping the farmworker community to attain political and economic empowerment. To continue rendering piecemeal educational, health and social services that reinforce dependency on increasingly inadequate and faltering service systems is to fail the farmworkers and their families in the long run.

As we get ready to confront the core causes rather than to continue providing temporary relief of symptoms, let us all be guided by the wisdom of one of America's greatest teachers:

> *"The idea of democracy as opposed to any concept of aristocracy is that every individual must be consulted in such a way actively not passively that he himself becomes part of the process of authority, of the process of social control; that his needs and wants have a chance to be registered in a way that they count in determining social policy."*
>
> - John Dewey

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